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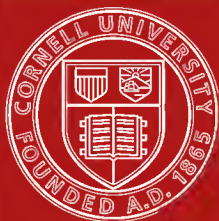
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HISTORICAL NOTES
ON THE
INTRODUCTION OF PRINTING
INTO
NEW YORK

1693

BY
GEORGE H. MOORE, LL.D.
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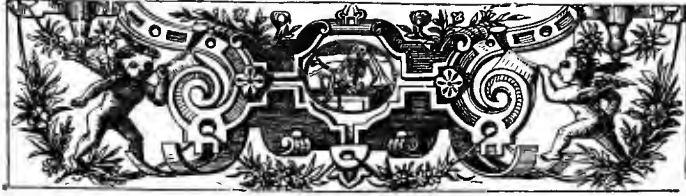
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THE INTRODUCTION OF PRINTING INTO NEW YORK.

AN EARLY edition of one of the tracts of that famous Puritan divine, Henry Ainsworth,¹ bears the imprint of "*Nova Belgia: 1640.*" thus apparently challenging for precedence that first issue of the press in English America, the well known *Bay Psalm Book*, whose title has the same date, without any place, but is known to have been printed at Cambridge, in Massachusetts. There is, however, no probability whatever that the Dutch Colony of New Netherland ever had any printing press within its territories; and the imprint referred to must be acknowledged to be fictitious. Not until after the conquest, was this potent engine of modern progress introduced within those territories or the limits of what is now known as the State of New York. The first proposition of any such enterprise anywhere in the Middle Colonies came from her second English Governor,

¹ An | Arrow | against | Idolatry. | Taken out of the Quiver | of the | Lord of Hosts. | By Henry Ainsworth. | Psalm 119. 31. | *I cleave to thy Testimonies: Lord, let me | not be ashamed.* | *Nova Belgia*, Printed 1640. Small 8vo, title, and pp. 121.

Colonel Francis Lovelace, who was sent by the Duke of York to succeed Colonel Richard Nicolls in the command and direction of his new province in 1668.

This gallant soldier and accomplished gentleman deserves more than a passing notice here, not only as the first to propose a printer for New York, but as having never been properly known and identified in her history. No historian or biographer has ever correctly stated his origin, his family connection, or his fate. Respecting these points I shall therefore make no apology for introducing a few facts from the biographical sketch which I prepared many years ago to accompany my proposed publication of the *Laws of New York, 1665-1691*.

Francis Lovelace was of a race of gentlemen, who in the military line, acquired great reputation and honor; and by their knowledge in the municipal laws, deserved well of the commonwealth. From whom descended those of this name seated at Bayford, in Sittingbourne, and at Kingsdowne in the County of Kent, the Lords Lovelace of Hurley, and others of Berkshire. Hitherto he has been described as belonging to the family of the Lords of Hurley, and made to be, not only the uncle of the third Lord Lovelace, that audacious and intemperate Whig celebrated by Macaulay, who abandoned James and took up arms for William, but also the grandfather of that Lord Lovelace who died at New York in the office of Governor in 1709. There was a connection between the families, but it was very remote, and the royal Duke's governor lived and died a bachelor. His immediate ancestor was Sir William Lovelace, of Woolwich, who was killed in Holland. His wife was Anne, daughter of Sir William Barne, also of Woolwich, by whom he had six children, (five sons and one daughter) of whom Francis was the second.

His elder brother was that bright particular star in the

galaxy of the minor poets of England in the seventeenth century—Richard Lovelace—whose songs “*To Lucasta*,” and “*To Althea, from Prison*” will long keep fresh among men of letters the memory of his chivalric love and loyalty. It is a charming reminiscence which connects his name and fame with the early annals of an American state. Two other brothers became residents of New York, where the family name was continued for a century later.

When the Dutch recovered their ancient colony in 1673, Governor Lovelace was taken prisoner by them, afterwards by the Turks, and died of his wounds. He was himself a poet and an artist, and his figure will be more conspicuous hereafter in the early history of New York, when the annals of that period come to be better known and more fairly written.

Very soon after he assumed the government in 1668, Lovelace manifested his desire for having a printer in the province by sending for one to New England, where the press was already established; but he does not appear to have been successful in his application. It was not until six years later that the General Court of Massachusetts “granted that there may be a printing press elsewhere than at Cambridge,” and neither workmen nor materials were readily to be had. No further attempt was made before the English Revolution, although the Duke of York laid no restraint upon the press in the instructions to his deputies, until after his accession to the throne.¹

¹ This fact is in singular contrast with the action of William Penn, who, although he has been credited with providing a printer for his colony, had hardly been there six months, when, at a Council in which he presided, it was ordered that the laws should not be printed. *Minutes*: i. 18. The report of the proceedings against Bradford in 1689 further shows that “the Proprietor had declared himself against the using of the presse.” *Ibid.* 236. And his deputy said to Bradford: “Sir, I have particular order from Governour Penn for the suppressing of printing here, and narrowly to look after

From and after the year 1686, these instructions forbade any printing without license—substantially as follows :

“ Forasmuch as great inconveniencies may arise by the liberty of Printing within our Province of New-York you are to provide by all necessary orders that no person keep any Press for Printing, nor that any Book, Pamphlett or other matters whatsoever be printed without your especial leave and license first obtained.”

This instruction was repeated to subsequent governors under William and Mary, but the press soon “ came to stay ” in the ancient City of New York. On the 23d day of March, 1693, it was resolved in the Council, “ that if a Printer will come and settle in the City of New-York for the printing of our Acts of Assembly and Publick Papers, he shall be allowed the sum of £40 current money of New-York per annum for his salary and have the benefit of his printing besides what serves the publick. *Council Minutes* : vi. 182.

WILLIAM BRADFORD had introduced the art of printing into Pennsylvania in 1685. His business as a printer in the Quaker province, which began and had continued under the patronage of Friends, was terminated early in 1692, their Monthly Meeting held Second Month 29th in that year having released him at his own request from his engagement or contract with them, at the same time directing that all arrears due him should be paid. *The Friend*, vol. xvii. page 22. He had previously announced his intention to return to England ; but remained upon additional encouragement until the “ Keithite Separation ” broke up the harmony of that people, and his sympathy with Keith and his followers provoked the wrathful indignation of the rulers of the province. At the time when the New York Council moved in the matter of se-

your presse, and I will search your house, look after your press, and make you give in £500 security to print nothing but what I allow, or I'll lay you fast.”

curing a printer, Bradford was suffering under the infliction of special pains and penalties which had been imposed upon him a few months earlier ; and if the offer of the New York authorities was not in fact invited or promoted by him, he certainly made no delay in availing himself of the opportunity so happily presented. He was duly appointed "Printer to their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary" in New York, and his salary in that office commenced on the 10th of April, 1693. *Council Minutes* : vii. 27.

This fact and the surrounding circumstances may serve to confirm the opinion that he had already practically taken up his residence in New York, and lost no time in beginning his service as public printer. A part, however, of his plant and stock in trade was still detained in Philadelphia in the hands of the Sheriff, having been seized by that officer in September of the previous year. When his trial took place in December, 1692, the jury having failed to agree upon a verdict, he demanded the restoration of his property, but he was truculently informed by the Quaker justice, that he should not have his things again, until released by law. *N. E. Spirit of Persecution, etc.* : pp. 36, 37.

We are not distinctly informed how Bradford employed himself during the time which elapsed after he was released from arrest and the immediate process of the court to which he was held responsible.¹ He seems to have attended several sessions of that tribunal. The first was

¹ It has been stated that upon the arrest of Bradford and McComb "both men were committed to jail for trial. The trial was postponed first until the October session, and then to the December sitting of the Court. Meantime the prisoners remained in jail, the jailer, however, was so kind as to let McComb go home an hour or two sometimes in an evening after it was dark." Hildeburn : *Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania*, 21. There is an error somewhere, if the fragmentary additions to the Minutes of the Provincial Council, printed in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* : xi. 151-159, are au-

in October, another in December ; and the " next Court " apparently in March :—neither affording much satisfaction to the printer or his persecutors, but determining very conclusively the question of his remaining in Pennsylvania. New York was thenceforth to be the place of the first printer and his press in the Middle Colonies.

The Governor of New York at that time was Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, who had reached that province on the 30th of August, in the summer of 1692, charged with the King's Commission for the government of Pennsylvania, as well as New York. He was kept busy in the latter province for several months before he found an opportunity to visit and publish his commission in Pennsylvania. He arrived for the first time in Philadelphia, between the hours of 11 and 12 A.M. on Wednesday, the 26th day of April, 1693. On the following day among the first and most important matters presented and acted upon at the Council Board, was a petition of William Bradford to his Excellency for the restoration of his " plant " or rather that part of it which had been seized by the authorities more than six months before.'

The Governor asked the advice of the Board, and the several members of the Council, being well acquainted

thentic. Bradford was arrested and committed to answer, 24th August, 1692. At the meeting of the Provincial Council, on the 21st of September following, it appears from the Minutes referred to, that

" This Board intending to caution the printers concerning the orders of yesterday's sitting, did send for William Bradford and his servant. But the Sheriff returned Answer That the sd. Bradford is gone out of Town to stay for a week. And his man is gone to William Salway's plantaçon, as his Mr. informed the Sheriff," *Ibid.* 159. This seems to indicate that the jail limits were very extensive, or that the jailer was even more kind and obliging to " the printer " Bradford, than " the tailor " McComb.

¹ " Governour *Lloyd* . . . sent for the Printer, and Requiring Securities of him, which he denied ; his *Shop* was Searched, and all the said Papers, and his Printing Letters, to the value of Ten Pounds *Sterling*, as *K* [*eith*] says, were taken away ; and the said Printer, *William Bradford*,

with the truth of the petitioner's allegations, promptly advised that his tools and letters be restored to him; which was accordingly ordered at once.

Governor Fletcher met the Assembly of Pennsylvania on the 16th day of May, 1693. The record of their progress in legislation is very entertaining.¹ Several acts were passed, of which it is necessary for the present purpose to specify but one, of which the title is as follows :

I. Anno Regni Gulielmi & Mariæ, | REGIS & REGINÆ, |
Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ, | QUINTO.
| An ACT for granting to King William and Queen |
Mary the Rate of One Penny per Pound upon the | clear
Value of all the Real and Personal estates, | and Six
Shillings per Head upon such as are not | otherwise rated
by this Act. To be employed by the | Governour of this
Province of Pennsylvania and | Territories thereof, for
the Time being, towards | the Support of this Government. |
Folio, pp. (4).

This Act was reprinted in Proud's *History of Pennsylvania* : with a statement of the amounts² collected under it, copied from the records. It had a special interest for the Governor. The preamble acknowledged the care and tender regard of the King and Queen in sending the Province and Counties so worthy a Person to supply the

was Committed to the Sheriffs House as a Prison." *Makemie* : 100. "They issued forth a Warrant, and apprehended *William Bradford* the Printer . . . and committed the said *W. B.* . . . to Goal; and also . . . took away a good quantity of *W. Bradford's* Letters, tending to the disabling of him to work for his Wife and Children. *N. E. Spirit of Persecution, etc.* : 3. It is apparent that printing still went on in Bradford's office, since the "Appeal," for printing which he was arrested, was reprinted on the Monday following, with the *Mittimus* and a *Postscript*. *Makemie* : 101.

¹ Fletcher soon after wrote home that he had "spent some weeks there but never yett found so much self conceite . . . their minutes . . . will appear a farce." *N. Y. Col. Doc.* iv. 31-2.

² *Proud* : i. 391-3. *Votes and Proceedings* : i. 85.

absence of their Proprietor; and further appropriated no less than one half the rates and assessments provided for by the act to the use and benefit of Fletcher himself. The preamble also commemorates the "great Assurances" he gave them "of his good desires to preserve and confirm them in their Rights and Liberties." He seems to have emphasized these preliminary utterances by threatening the legislature with a speedy annexation to New York, when they hesitated a little in their progress with this very enactment itself among others!

Our present interest, however, is with its publication. In his speech dissolving the Assembly, June 2d, 1693, the Governor said that he had ordered that the money bill should be first enrolled; and there is no room for doubt that it was one of the earliest productions of Bradford's press after he entered upon his office of Royal Printer in New York.¹ Three New York acts of earlier date in enactment may possibly dispute for precedence; but all of them belong among the first works of his press in its new home. They are the following:

II. Anno Regni Gulielmi & Mariæ, | Regis & Reginæ, | Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ, | Quinto. | On the Tenth Day of September, 1692, in the | Fifth Year of their Majesties Reign this Act passed | at the City of New-York. | An Act for Restraining and Punishing Privateers | and Pyrates. | Folio, pp. 1-3. (Sig. A), ending with "Finis," verso blank.

The Lenox copy of this act differs in the caption: viz: "Province of New-York, ss. | Anno Regni Gulielmi & Mariæ, | Regis & Reginæ, | Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, | Quinto. | " &c.

¹ Although printing the laws was one of the chief things Governor Penn proposed to William Bradford before he came to America, none of them were printed by him while he remained in Penn's province.

- III. An Act for Granting to their Majesties the Rate of | One Penny per Pound upon all the Real and Per- | sonal Estates within this Province of *New-York*, | &c. To be allowed unto his Excellency the Go- | vernour, for the Care of the Province, *November* | the 12th, 1692. | Folio, pp. 1-4. (Sig. A), ending with "Finis."
- IV. Anno Regni Gulielmi & Mariæ, | Regis & Reginae, | Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ, | Quinto. | The 10th of April, Anno Domini 1693. | An Act for raising six Thousand Pound for the payment | of three Hundred Volunteers, and their Officers, to | be employed in the Reinforcement of the Frontiers of | this Province at Albany, from the First of May | next, to the First of May then next following, in | the Year of our Lord 1694. | Folio, 6 unnumbered pages (sig. B) ending with the Colophon—" *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to King William and Queen Mary, at the City of New-York, 1693.*"

These three acts, thus separately printed soon after the press was set up in New York, were not included in due course as a part of the text of the volume known as the first edition of Bradford's Laws, which was probably printed, in part at least, in 1693, though it bears the date of the following year. Copies of them, however, as first printed and originally issued, were bound up with the sheets of the completed work, their orderly place being indicated, though imperfectly, by their titles which appear in the printed "Table of Contents of the Laws," which follows the title-page of what has long been considered to be "the first book printed in New York." This volume contains the laws passed to and including the last session of the legislature in 1693, to which was added :

- V. A Catalogue of Fees | Established by the | Governour and Council | at the Humble Request of the | Assem-

bly | " separately paged, ending on page 11, with the colophon—" Printed and Sold by *William Bradford*, Printer to Their Majesties, | King *William* and Queen *Mary*, at the Bible in *New-York*, 1693."

This catalogue of fees was printed after the 20th of September, in that year; for it was sent up from the House of Representatives to the Governor and Council for their action, on that day.

It is difficult to determine with certainty whether Philadelphia or New York was the place where some of the issues of Bradford's press in 1693, were printed. Mr. Hildeburn, in his *Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania*, gives ten titles under that year—of which only two or three are free from question. The list for New York may be enlarged hereafter by further research and discovery, but the following issues from Bradford's press in New York, appeared in 1693.¹

VI. Benjamin Fletcher Captain General and Governour in | Chief of the Province of New-York, Province of | Pennsylvania, and Country of New-Castle, and the | Territories and Tracts of Land depending thereon in | America. | To all Officers and Ministers Ecclesiastical and Civil through | out the Provinces and Territories under my Government. | [A Proclamation granting licence to Warner Wessells and Antie Christians to collect money for the redemption of their

¹ A tract ascribed to George Keith and Daniel Leeds, has been assigned to Bradford's press with the date of 1693. *Haven's Catalogue: Sabin: 37183*. It is a small quarto of four pages, beginning with a half title as follows: "A Challenge to *Caleb Pusey*, and a Check to | his Lyes and Forgeries, &c." The copy in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society has at the top of the first page, in the handwriting of Cotton Mather, the inscription "G. Keith," which probably misled those who have since ascribed it to him and who failed to observe the internal evidence which shows distinctly that Leeds was its author, and that its date was about 1701.

friends from slavery in Sallee, dated at Fort William Henry the 8th Day of June, 1693.] *Printed by William Bradford, Printer to King William & Queen Mary | at the City of New-York, Anno 1693. | Folio, 1 page.*

A letter from John Miller, at that time Chaplain to the Forces in New York, directed to the Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, dated 18th August, 1693, enclosed several copies of this printed Brief, etc. *Penn. Colonial Records : i. 351.*

VII. [A Dutch translation of Fletcher's Proclamation in favor of Warner Wessells and Antie Christians, dated 8th of June, 1693.] *Gedrukt tot Nieuwe Yorke, by William Bradfort, Anno 1693. Folio, 1 page.*

VIII. By His Excellency, Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governour in Chief of their Majesties Province of New-York, Province of Pennsylvania, County of New Castle, and the Territories and Tracts of Land depending thereon, in America, and Vice Admiral of the same. A Proclamation. Province of New York, ss. [On the erection of fire Beacons to give notice of the appearance of the French enemy, dated at Fort William Henry, the 25th day of August, 1693.] *Printed and sold by William Bradford, Printer to their Majesties King William, and Queen Mary at the city of New-York, 1693. Folio, 1 page.*

IX. An Exhortation & Caution | To | Friends | Concerning buying or keeping of Negroes. | pp. 6. [*New-York: William Bradford, 1693.*]

“Given forth, &c., the 13th day of the 8th month, 1693,” &c.

This is Mr. Hildeburn's No. 61 ; but he points out the fact that “ this first protest against slavery printed in America . . . must have been printed in New York.”

X. An | Account | of | Several Passages and Letters between his Excellency | Benjamin Fletcher, | Captain General and Governour in Chief of the Province of New-York, | Province of Pennsylvania, Country of New-Castle, &c. Commissionated | by their Majesties under the great Seal of England, to be their Lieut. | and Commander in chief of the Militia, and of all the Forces by Sea | and Land within their Majesties Collony of Connecticut, and of all the | Forts and places of Strength within the same. | And | The present Administrators, of the Laws in the | Collony of Connecticut, in the Month of October, 1693. | [Colophon:] Printed and Sold by *William Bradford*, Printer to their Majesties King | *William* and *Queen Mary*, at the Bible in *New-York*, 1693. | Folio, pp. 8.

XI. Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governor in Chief of Their Majesties Province of New-York, Province of Pennsylvania, Country of New-Castle, and the Territories and Tracts of Land depending thereon in America, and Vice-Admiral of the same, Their Majesties Lieutenant and Commander in Chief of the Militia, & of all the Forces by Sea and Land within Their Majesties Collony of Connecticut, and of all the Forts and places of Strength within the same. A Proclamation [to the people of Connecticut, dated at Fort William Henry "the Eight Day of November, 1693," urging them to "yeild and render an intire Obedience unto their Majesties most Gracious Commission," and referring to the Proclamation of the 28th October last.¹] *Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to Their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary at the Sign of the Bible in the City of New-York*, 1693. Folio.

¹ This proclamation was published in MS. only—and a copy is to be found among the Archives of the State of Connecticut. It is also printed in *Conn. Col. Records*: iv. 115-117.

- XII. By His Excellency, Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governour in Chief of their Majesties Province, Etc. [A Proclamation dated November 13, 1693, relative to deserters from the army and navy, and travellers and others without passes.] *Printed and sold by William Bradford, Printer to their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary, at the sign of the Bible in the City of New-York, 1693.*

To all these first-fruits of Bradford's press in New York, which have been preserved and are still extant in one or more specimens of each, I have now to add the record of a publication, hitherto unrecognized among them, but which may prove to have been THE EARLIEST OF THEM ALL.

Upon news of the French invasion of New York in the winter of 1692-3, Governor Fletcher displayed great energy and activity, taking the field in person, proceeding with uncommon celerity to the scene of action and providing by every means in his power for the security and protection of the frontier. His services were cordially recognized by all, and by none more emphatically than the friendly Indians in alliance with the English, who bestowed on him the name of *Cayenquirago, the Great Swift Arrow*, to commemorate the rapidity of his movement from the City of New York to the scattered settlements in the wilderness above Albany.

The journal of this expedition and other documents, official and semi-official, illustrating the transactions connected with it, were brought together and printed in New York by authority of the Governor himself. The exact date of appearance of the work cannot be readily fixed; but it is certain that before the summer of 1693 was fairly forward, that valiant soldier was enabled to read the flattering record of his achievements from the types of William Bradford, the poor printer whom he had just rescued

from Quaker persecution in Philadelphia. It is not difficult to understand with what zeal and alacrity the grateful protégé would hasten to perform his part in the work of "booming his benefactor."

It would be unreasonable to doubt either that Fletcher was desirous to give the publicity of print to the record of his successful expedition or that the printer was eager to gratify his friend and patron. The thanks of the popular branch of the legislature were formally voted to the Governor for his promptness and zeal in appearing against the French on the frontier, by a resolution of the 22d March, 1693, the very day before the "encouragement to the printer" passed the Council: and a copy of this resolution duly authenticated is the last article in the book.

The work thus produced in New York was reprinted a few weeks later in London, and we are indebted to that republication for the greater part of our present knowledge of its existence. It was licensed in London, September 11th, 1693, and in one of the London journals of the 16th September 1693, the following advertisement announced the fact that

"On *Tuesday* next, the 19th Instant, will be publish'd.
 "A Perfect Journal of the late Actions of the *French* at *Canada*, with the Manner of their being Repulsed by His Excellency *Benjamin Fletcher*, their Majesties Governour of *New-York*. Impartially related by Collonel *Nicholas Reyard* and Lieutenant Collonel *Charles Lodowick*: To which is added the Present State and Strength of *Canada* given by 2 Dutchmen, late Prisoners there.

"Price stitch'd 6d.

"Printed for *Richard Baldwin*. 1693."

It is not improbable that this was part of the title of the original publication in New York, excepting the imprint—

and that the variation in the English edition belongs to that alone. The title of that edition is as follows :

A | Journal | of the | Late Actions | of the | French at Can-
ada. | With | The Manner of their being, Repuls'd,
by | His Excellency, Benjamin Fletcher, Their | Ma-
jesties Governour of New-York. | Impartially Re-
lated by Coll. Nicholas Reyard, | and Lieu- | tenant
Coll. Charles Lodowick, who attended His | Excel-
lency, during the whole Expedition. | To which is
added, | I. An Account of the present State and
Strength of Canada, | given by Two Dutch Men, who
have been a long Time Pri- | soners there | and now
made their Escape. | II. The Examination of a
French Prisoner. | III. His Excellency Benjamin
Fletcher's Speech to the Indians. | IV. An Address
from the Corporation of Albany, to His Excellen- |
cy, Returning Thanks for His Excellency's early As-
sistance for | their Relief. | Licensed, Sept. 11th,
1693, Edward Cooke. | London, Printed for Richard
Baldwin, in Warwick-Lane, 1693. | 4to. Title and
Preface, 2 leaves. Text, 22 pages.

The English edition is introduced by a spirited preface to the reader, who is assured by the editor that "we have this Credit to the Truth of our Narration, That 'tis no more than what has been already Printed at New-York by his Excellency's (the Commander in chief in the Expedition) particular Authority there," etc.

Governor Fletcher's successor and bitter enemy Lord Bellomont furnished, a few years later, an account of this publication, which is very entertaining, though by no means complimentary to his predecessor or the people whom they governed, whether lay or clerical.

Writing to the Lords of Trade, November 12th, 1698, he says: "The printed accounts of his great exploits

against the French which he published and sent into England I cannot possibly get one of them for love nor money, and I am told he made it his businesse to get up all the printed copies, which is an argument with me of his conscioussesse that he had imposed a romance instead of a true narrative," etc.—*N. Y. Col. MSS.* iv. 426. It is not difficult to understand the reason why a publication which had disappeared within five years after it was printed in New York in 1693, should be well-nigh unknown two centuries later.

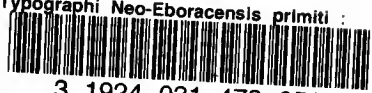
The facts now stated seem to warrant the suggestion that "*The Perfect Journal*," etc., may have been "the first-born of the press in New York." They certainly deprive the first edition of the Laws of the honor—hitherto commonly assigned to that interesting and valuable volume, which still remains the most considerable monument of typography in New York before 1700.

A few years hence, it will be the province of the historian to review the progress of the art in New York during two complete centuries. In 1863, it was my duty and privilege to be among those who celebrated the two-hundredth anniversary of WILLIAM BRADFORD'S birth—one of the greatest of the great occasions of the New York Historical Society. If that Society continues true to its own traditions, the two-hundredth anniversary of the INTRODUCTION OF PRINTING INTO NEW YORK will not be neglected, nor the memory of him, who first of all men in America, asserted, and maintained to his cost, the liberty of unlicensed printing.

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